

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 SAM-01 NIC-01 SAJ-01 EUR-25 EB-11 IO-14

DOT-00 COME-00 FAA-00 OMB-01 DRC-01 /147 W

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R 120920Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9927

INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 1922

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ETRN, JA, CH, TW, PINT

SUBJ: LDP ENDORSES GOVERNMENT AVIATION PROPOSAL

REF: A. TOKYO 1041 (NOTAL)

B. TOKYO 1495

SUMMARY: GOJ SURMOUNTED MAJOR HURDLE FEBUARY 9 WHEN LDP EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FINALLY ENDORSED PROPOSAL TO NEGOTIATE SINO-JAPANESE AVIATION ARRANGEMENTS, LDP APPROVED GOJ CONCLUDING AGREEMENT WITH PRC ON BASIS 1972 JAPAN-PRC COMMUNIQUE AND MAINTAINING AIR ROUTE TO TAIWAN ON NON-GOVERNMENTAL BASIS. BOTH GOALS ARE TO BE ACHIEVED IN QTE CONSULTATION UNQTE WITH LDP EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. DESPITE FONOFF VIEW (AND PRESS') THAT LDP MANNER OF RESOLVING ISSUE HAMPERS GOJ MANEUVERABILITY AND WILL PERMIT FURTHER INTERFERENCE BY PRO-TAIWAN ELEMENTS, LDP ENDORSEMENT WILL PERMIT GOJ TO MOVE AHEAD WITH NEGOTIATIONS. END SUMMARY
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1. GOJ CROSSED A MAJOR HURDLE IN REACHING AVIATION AGREEMENT

WITH PRC WHEN LDP EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FEB 9 DECIDED BY MAJORITY VOTE TO ENDORSE GOJ'S BASIC POLICY CONCERNING HANDLING OF JAPAN-PRC AND JAPAN-TAIWAN AIR ROUTES. AGREEMENT WAS REACHED AFTER ACrimonious CONFRONTATIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS WHICH BEGAN JAN 17, HIGHLIGHTED BY SEIRANKAI'S AND OTHER PRO-TAIWAN GROUPS' AGITATED EFFORTS TO SLOW OR BLOCK AGREEMENT. LDP POLICY, AS EXPLAINED BY LDP SECY GENERAL HASHIMOTO, IS AS FOLLOWS: (A) GOJ WILL CONCLUDE AVIATION AGREEMENT ON BASIS OF PRINCIPLES IN 1972 JOINT PRC-JAPAN COMMUNIQUE (ONE CHINA GOVERNED BY PEKING). (B) PRESENT JAPAN-TAIWAN AIR SERVICES WILL BE MAINTAINED ON NON-GOVERNMENTAL BASIS. BOTH GOALS ARE TO BE WORKED TOWARDS SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH GOVERNMENT ACTING IN THE MOST PRUDENT MANNER IN NEGOTIATING WITH CHINA BY HAVING THE PRIOR CONSULTATIONS WITH PARTY EXECUTIVE.

2. LDP ACTION LEAVES UNMENTIONED OTHER FIVE OF GOJ'S SIX POINT PROPOSAL DRAWN UP BY FONMIN OHIRA AND TRANSPORTATION MIN TOKUNAGA. FIRMNESS OF PRO-TAIWAN GROUPS' AND OHIRA'S POSITIONS NECESSITATED THIS DELIBERATELY VAGUE ENDORSEMENT, BUT PARTY ENDORSEMENT WILL NOW PERMIT CABINET TO APPROVE PLAN PRO-FORMA, AND GOJ HOPES TO MOVE TO FULL SCALE NEGOTIATIONS WITH PRC, PERHAPS NEXT MONTH.

3. IN ASSESSING LDP ACTION, FONOFF (DEP HEAD CHINA DIV OGURA) TOLD EMBASSY RESULTS POSE THREE SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS FOR GOJ: (A) OGURA SAID FROM DOMESTIC ANGLE MANNER OF RESOLVING LDP CONFRONTATION PERMITS INCREASED OPPORTUNITIES FOR INTERNAL POWER STRUGGLE TO CONTINUE. BECAUSE LDP ACTION DOES NOT GIVE GOVERNMENT CLEAR MANDATE, SEIRANKAI, FINMIN FUKUDA, MITI MIN NAKASONE, AND OTHERS WILL ALL BE ABLE TO CREATE PROBLEMS FOR GOJ AND PUT PM TANAKA AND FONMIN OHIRA IN AWKWARD POSITIONS. (B) NECESSITY TO NEGOTIATE NON-GOVERNMENTAL AGREEMENT WITH TAIWAN AS IS IMPLIED IN LDP ENDORSEMENT PRESENTS ADDITIONAL POTENTIAL FOR TROUBLEMAKING BY TAIWAN GOVERNMENT AND PRO-TAIWAN DIETMEN. WITH SOME LEVERAGE ACHIEVED IN LDP RESOLUTION OF ISSUE, TAIWAN AUTHORITIES WILL PRESUMABLY ATTEMPT NOT ONLY TO TRY TO SAVE FACE BUT ALSO CONTINUE TO STUBBORNLY PUSH THEIR MAXIMUM OBJECTIVES. (C) FIRST TWO PROBLEMS CREATE DIFFICULTIES IN SCHEDULE FOR NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEKING, INCLUDING WHETHER TO
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NEGOTIATE FIRST WITH TAIWAN OR NOT.

4. PRESS COMMENTARY HAS BEEN ALONG SIMILAR LINES, CLAIMING THAT LDP DECISION LEFT THE TIME BOMB UNTIL FOR FUTURE EFFORTS TO RESOLVE AVIATION MATTER SINCE LDP ENDORSEMENT LEAVES ROOM FOR FURTHER INTERFERENCE BY PRO-TAIWAN ELEMENTS.

5. PRESS REPORTED THAT TAIWAN ISSUE ASIDE, MAJOR OTHER PENDING ISSUES BETWEEN PRC AND GOJ CONCERN ROUTES AND ONWARD FLIGHT RIGHTS. ACCORDING TO PRESS, JAPAN PROPOSED PEKING,

SHANGHAI, AND CANTON FOR OWN PLANES, AND TOKYO, FUKUOKA, AND NAGOYA FOR CHINA'S ROUTES. PRESS SAID THAT PRC REJECTED ANTON FOR JAL AND PROPOSED TOKYO AND OSAKA FOR CAAL. OGURA TOLD US GOJ-PRC TALKS THUS FAR HAVE CENTERED ON PEKING, SHANGHAI, OSAKA AND TOKYO ROUTES, AND OTHER ROUTES, ETC., WERE STILL TO BE DISCUSSED.

6. COMMENT: THROUGH FACE-SAVING COMPROMISE TO OVERCOME STUBBORN OPPOSITION FROM PRO-TAIWAN ELEMENTS, GOJ HAS WON PARTY APPROVAL. HOWEVER, AS OGURA COMMENTED, APPROVAL GAINED AT SOME COST TO GOJ MANEUVERABILITY. TAIWAN WILL MOST PROBABLY BALK AT EACH COMPROMISE AND ITS SUPPORTERS IN JAPAN WILL CAUSE TROUBLE AT EACH STEP. THUS, GOJ SCHEDULE TO COMPLETE NEGOTIATIONS AND SIGN AGREEMENT BEFORE DIET RECESSES IN LATE APRIL AND PRIOR TO UPPER HOUSE ELECTIONS COULD BE UPSET. NEVERTHELESS, LDP EXECUTIVES' ACTION CROSSED MAJOR BARRIER AND WILL AT LEAST PERMIT FORWARD MOVEMENT.

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